

## Message Text

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FOR SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR RH  
SUBJECT: RHODESIAN CONFERENCE: MEETING WITH CHONA OCT. 28

1. I BREAKFASTED WITH CHONA THIS MORNING AND DISCUSSED THE FOLLOWING TOPICS.
2. OPENING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE: CHONA CONFIRMED THAT THE NATIONALISTS ARE STILL VERY UPSET OVER THE ISSUE OF A BRITISH MINISTERIAL PRESENCE AT THE CONFERENCE. NEVERTHELESS, HE BELIEVED THAT HE AND HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES HAD RE-ESTABLISHED ORDER LAST NIGHT AND THAT THE CONFERENCE WOULD OPEN WITHOUT FURTHER FUROR. THE NATIONALISTS WOULD PROBABLY REGISTER THEIR DISSATISFACTION WITH BRITAIN'S FAILURE TO PROVIDE A MINISTER. THEY DID NOT, HOWEVER, QUESTION RICHARD'S CAPACITY OR AUTHORITY.
3. I TOLD CHONA THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO ORDER AND MODERATION IN THE COMING SEVERAL DAYS. CHONA SAID HE FULLY APPRECIATES THE POINT AND HAD IN FACT BEEN WORKING ON THIS ASSUMPTION. HE WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO BOTH WITH HIS FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES AND THE NATIONALISTS. CHONA REPORTED THAT THE MOZAMBICANS WHO HAVE ARRIVED, ARE PLAYING AN "EXCEPTIONALLY" USEFUL ROLE. THEY ARE "INVALUABLE" AND ARE WORKING HARD TO MAKE SURE THAT THE CONFERENCE REACHES A SENSIBLE CONCLUSION.

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4. ROLE OF GREAT BRITAIN: THE NATIONALISTS AND THE FRONT

LINE REPRESENTATIVES REMAIN DISTURBED OVER THE ROLE BRITAIN WILL PLAY IN THE CONFERENCE AND IN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION. CHONA SAID THAT ALL BELIEVE BRITAIN WANTS THE TRUMP CARD. BRITISH FORCEFULNESS AT THE CONFERENCE WILL BE DECISIVE AND BRITAIN'S WILLINGNESS TO ASSIGN A GOVERNOR-GENERAL, A HIGH COMMISSIONER OR A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL PROVIDE MAJOR BENEFITS. THE NATIONALISTS WOULD BE SATISFIED THAT THEY ARE NOT BEING LEFT TO MAKE IT ON THEIR OWN IF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL OR A LESS VISIBLE EQUIVALENT ASSUMED SOME OF THE POWERS PRESENTLY VESTED IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE. THE DEADLOCK ON THAT ISSUE MIGHT THEN BE BROKEN. CHONA SPECIFICALLY ASKED THAT WE CONTINUE TO ASSERT OUR FULL INFLUENCE WITH THE BRITISH SO THAT THEY MEET THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.

5. FINANCES: CHONA REMARKED THAT THE BRITISH HANDLING OF THE FINANCES QUESTION HAD LEFT A BAD TASTE IN THE MOUTHS OF THE NATIONALISTS. HE ASKED THAT WE PICK UP SOME OF THE COSTS OF THE AFRICAN DELEGATIONS. I TOOK HIS POINT.

6. BREAKING THE DEADLOCK: CHONA IS NOT PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE AND NOTED THAT AT THE MINIMUM, THE NATIONALISTS HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY DO NOT WANT IT TO FAIL BECAUSE OF ANYTHING THEY DO. IF A FAILURE IS THE OUTCOME, IT MUST CLEARLY BE SEEN AS SMITH'S RESPONSIBILITY.

7. ONE WAY TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK WOULD BE TO PUT THE DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE AS THE FIRST ITEM ON THE CONFERENCE AGENDA. IF A FIRM DATE OF INDEPENDENCE IS PICKED - SOMETIME TOWARDS THE LATTER PART OF 1977 - THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE CONFERENCE COULD CHANGE DRAMATICALLY. THE NATIONALISTS WOULD UNDERSTAND FINALLY THAT THE PRECISE COMPOSITION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WAS NOT AN ISSUE OF OVERWHELMING IMPORTANCE. PORTFOLIOS COULD BE ALLOCATED WITH GREATER EASE.

8. HOWEVER, IF THE BRITISH WERE PRESENTED WITH A PRECISE DATE IT MIGHT BE EASIER FOR THEM TO ACCEPT THEIR RESIDUAL RESPONSIBILITIES. SMITH, CHONA ARGUED, HAD ALREADY ADMITTED THE POINT ALTHOUGH HE SEEMED TO "PUT THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE." SMITH HAS SAID THAT AFTER AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IS ESTABLISHED, THE SOONER FULL INDEPENDENCE COMES THE BETTER.

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THE COINCIDENCE OF INTERESTS ON THIS MATTER ARGUE IN FAVOR OF IT BEING GIVEN FIRST PRIORITY ON THE CONFERENCE'S AGENDA. CHONA LOOKS TO OUR USING OUR INFLUENCE IN THIS REGARD.

9. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT: CHONA AGREES, AND SAYS THAT THE OTHER FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES DO SO AS WELL WITH OUR BELIEF, THAT THE ONLY PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE IS TO ESTABLISH AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. IF A DATE

FOR INDEPENDENCE IS SET, A SITUATION LIKE THAT WHICH PERTAINED DURING THE MOZAMBIQUE SETTLEMENT COULD FOLLOW. IF THE BRITISH NAME A POLITICAL REPRESENTATIVE THE QUESTION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE COULD BE MOST EASILY SETTLED. AN INCREASE IN THE AUTHORITIES OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WOULD ALSO HELP.

10. THE AMERICAN ROLE: IN THE COMING DAYS CHONA ADVISES THAT WE PLAY A QUIET BUT FORCEFUL ROLE. HE SUGGESTS THAT WE TELL THE OTHER FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NATIONALISTS WE BELIEVE SMITH WILL COME ALONG IF COHERENT ALTERNATIVES ARE OFFERED. IN PARTICULAR HE RECOMMENDS THAT WE PUSH THE FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES TO ASSUME THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES IN ORGANIZING THE NATIONALISTS.

11. PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S REQUEST: PRESIDENT KAUNDA CALLED CHONA THIS MORNING TO ASK THAT HE MENTION THE WEINRAUB ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE OCTOBER 26 EDITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S CONCERN THAT "LEAKS" FROM THE DEPARTMENT WILL CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF DISSENTION. HE URGES THAT WE NOT QUALIFY THE NATURE OF ASSURANCES RECEIVED FROM THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. PRESIDENT KAUNDA STATED TO THE SECRETARY HIS RESERVATIONS BUT HE DID NOT WANT THESE TO BECOME PUBLIC. IT IS IMPORTANT TO AVOID GIVING SMITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO DIVIDE THE BRITISH, AMERICANS, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND PUSH THE DEBATE INTO WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PAST. VICTORIA FALLS BROKE DOWN ON A SIMILAR ISSUE. SMITH ARGUED HE HAD CATEGORICAL ASSURANCES FROM KAUNDA AND VORSTER. AT THAT TIME CHONA HAD TO POINT OUT THAT POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS AND UNDERSTANDINGS DO NOT CREATE LEGAL CONTRACTS.

12. KAUNDA'S CONCERNS ARE ALSO RELATED TO NAMIBIA. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT IF A SETTLEMENT IS TO BE REACHED THERE THAT NONE OF THE INTERESTED PARTIES FEEL THEY HAVE TO ADOPT  
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MILITANT, RHETORICAL POSITIONS WHEN THEY INDICATE THEIR POSITIONS. IF THIS IS TO BE AVOIDED, ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE MUST BE MAINTAINED. I AGREED TO PASS PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S AND CHONA'S MESSAGE TO WASHINGTON. I SAID THAT WE TOO SHARE AN INTEREST IN DISCUSSING THE FUTURE RATHER THAN DEBATING THE PAST. CATTO

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